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YOUTH CIVIC DEVELOPMENT & SCHOOLING AS A NATIONAL PROJECT: THE CROSS-NATIONAL CONTEXT OF FORMAL CIVICS-ORIENTED EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the cross-national institutionalization of formal civics-oriented school curricula and programs and considers how national educational systems both contextualize and institutionalize these curricula and programs. In particular, this paper asks if in nations where civically-oriented opportunities are institutionalized as formal school programs, are students then more civically knowledgeable. This paper also asks if local school contexts associate with the availability of formal extracurricular civics-oriented programs and curricula. The results of the analyses suggest that formal civic education does not occur solely as a part of the official curriculum. There are many extracurricular programs that instill or encourage civic education and participation as well.

YOUTH CIVIC DEVELOPMENT & SCHOOLING AS A NATIONAL PROJECT: THE CROSS-NATIONAL CONTEXT OF FORMAL CIVICS-ORIENTED EDUCATION

One of the foremost goals of education is the development of youth with interests in social relationships and control (Dewey, 1940). Because schooling is a social process, it necessarily transmits civic ideals (Barbagli & Dei, 1969; Bernstein, 1973; Dreeben, 1968; Durkheim, 1969). As such, education prepares individuals to participate in their societies in order to make changes or adjustments without upsetting the stability of the social or political structure of a local community or nation.

The expansion of mass education coupled with the inclusion of previously excluded categories of people into a common nation-state has fostered an atmosphere of equal educational access and opportunity at all school levels (Wiseman, 2000, p.621). Therefore, in the modern mass schooling system, an underlying civic ideal is the democratic function of education. This civic socialization function of schooling suggests that education introduces and incorporates curricula and programs relevant to the problems of social and political life. A common national development goal related to schooling has been to teach or train students to become active participants in the civic life of their local, national, and global communities (Fuller & Rubinson, 1992).

Given the growing as well as historical importance of schooling as a process for the civic and political development of youth, the influence of schooling on civic education and civics-oriented school programs deserves the attention of the research and policymaking communities alike. Yet, the results of recent cross-national studies by the International Association for the

Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) have elicited strong reactions and in some cases contributed to premature or inappropriate educational policy (LeTendre et al, YEAR). The Civic Education Project may fall into a similar policy trap. This study, conducted under the auspices of the IEA, focuses on cross-national implementation and consequences of civic education. The more conventional policies and methods regarding youth civic development focus on the technical processes of civic education (i.e., How is civic education "done"?). But conventional approaches may miss or ignore organizational influences, which are integral elements of schooling as a socio-political institution. The global institutionalization of mass schooling often results in breaches in the technical processes of schooling, in general, and youth civic development, in particular. Given the importance of youth civic development as a national development goal of many countries and the concerns related to national school contexts for this development, this paper investigates the cross-national institutionalization of formal civics-oriented curricula and programs and considers how national educational systems both contextualize and institutionalize them.

SCHOOLING AND THE NATURE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Civic development is often linked with participation in civics-oriented programs and organizations. Putnam (1993; and summarized in McGinn, 1996) distinguishes four elements of civic society: (1) civic engagement, (2) active participation, (3) political equality, and (4) tolerance.[1] Most immediate are the first two points (civic engagement and active participation), which define overt participation in political activity as a requisite of a civically-developed society. Consequently, active participation is a fundamental element of youth civic development.

Youniss, McLellan, and Yates (1997) propose three aspects of civic identity, which they find are more evident in participants than non-participants in civic activities. These aspects of civic identity are (a) the collective component, (b) awareness of the political and moral dimensions of society, and (c) criticism along with support of existing social structures. They further assert that political participation allows individual citizens to directly express their civic concerns and preferences to government policymakers. Others argue more specifically that civically-developed citizens may involve themselves at any level of influence (e.g., national, state, local) in many different ways (e.g., direct communication, voting, giving time and money, or working with others) (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). The common trait of these arguments is that civic development requires active and overt participation in socio-political processes, which influences civic leaders either directly or indirectly. The question remains, however, whether participation in civic life and active acceptance of civic responsibility is a characteristic of civic development in individual nations as much as is equal access and the opportunity to participate, which is a hallmark of mass schooling (Wiseman, 2000).

The IEA's Civic Education Project required that scholars in each participating nation first consider how to measure schooling's role in the civic development of youths. the role of schooling in youth civic development is often teaching students about socio-political processes and institutions through the formal curriculum rather than requiring their direct and immediate participation in civic programs and organizations, the level of involvement characteristic of youth civic development becomes relevant to each nation's educational system. Therefore, opportunities for active versus symbolic participation may become cross-nationally amorphous given the influence of each nation's context.

CULTURAL & CONTEXTAL EFFECTS ON YOUTH POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The global expansion of schools as formal institutions for the civic development of youth across political, cultural, and social boundaries has led to a universal core of civic beliefs and assumptions held by most youth worldwide (Baker, 2003; Wiseman, 2000). Yet, there are many arguments that education is mediated through cultural and contextual effects (Al Heeti & Brock, 1997; Bourdieu, 1977; Lareau, 1989). Most conventional approaches to youth civic development, however, focus on the technical processes of civic education and opportunities for development.

Conventional Approaches to Youth Civic Development

Since civic identity emphasizes the rights and responsibilities of citizens, the technical processes by which these rights and responsibilities are transmitted become integral to youth civic development. By imparting political knowledge through formal civics-oriented curricula and programs, schooling helps students understand that they have certain rights only because they fulfill corresponding responsibilities (Barber & Battistoni, 1993). Conventional approaches to youth civic development, therefore, emphasize the interdependency of the different elements of a community and suggest that problems in a community result from dysfunctions in the constituent parts of the socio-political system (e.g., individuals, schools, government representatives, and others with community rights and responsibilities).

The most basic element of any system is the individual (Bray & Thomas, 1995). Thus, from a conventional perspective the civic development of youths lays the foundation for further

development at other levels. As such, individual youths' civic development influences the well-being of the whole socio-political system. As part of their development, youths learn to respect political authority, legal order, traditional institutions, and political obligations (Merelman, 1986). For these reasons, youth civic development is fundamental to the proper functioning and even survival of society and its attendant political system. From this common foundation, conventional approaches to youth civic development suggest four interdependent stages of the technical process of civic development. Figure 1 shows that these stages of the conventional model are access to political knowledge, exercise of political rights, opportunity for political participation, and fulfillment of political responsibilities.

[FIGURE 1]

Conventional approaches to youth political development suggest that *access to civic knowledge* is a particular responsibility of schooling. It is through schools that youths get their first formal training and education in what constitutes politics in their communities (local, national, and global). Also, schooling teaches students how they can gain access to political representatives and civic leaders so that they may influence policy decision-making or participate in its implementation. *Assumption of socio-political rights* consists of the benefits of citizenship in a community. Thus, as fledgling citizens, youths learn more about the socio-political system and ways to influence it. They, in turn, take advantage of the benefits that citizenship affords. This includes all public services such as police and fire departments as well as other less visible community services and civic institutions. *Opportunity participate in socio-political organizations and movements* occurs when youths use their civic knowledge in combination with

their wants and needs to be served in their community. When their rights within a community are threatened or begin to change, their knowledge about access affords them the opportunity to actively participate. Minkoff (1997) makes a similar argument. She asserts that as the rights within national movement sectors change or grow, marginalized groups' opportunities and probability for political participation similarly change or grow. Knowledge about access also means they know how to participate in order to affect the desired change. Thus knowledge, access, rights, and opportunity require citizens to *fulfill their civic responsibilities*. The full cycle of this conventional process maintains the relationship that individual citizens have with their respective communities. If youths benefit from the community and enjoy the privileges of membership then conventional approaches suggest that they will also contribute to the welfare of their community in order to continue to receive the benefits and enjoy the rights of citizenship in their community.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO YOUTH CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

Alternative approaches to youth civic development often break from the conventional model of youth civic development as a strictly technical process. Instead, alternative approaches often look to the context of youth civic development as an indicator of its process (e.g., Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Friere, 1970). For instance, education has been persuasively argued to be a form of cultural imperialism, and, in particular, formal school curricula and programs (Carnoy & Levin, 1985; Said, 1994). Even institutional perspectives suggest that culture and schooling overlap in important ways (LeTendre, 1996; Wiseman & Alromi, 2003). In truth, many argue that educational systems (and the civic education and opportunities they provide) are organized

to maintain the cultural system they represent (Apple, 1982; Bourdieu, 1977; Spindler, 1987). Additionally, arguments about world systems and globalization suggest that schooling as both a carrier of culture and a socializing agent is closely connected to economic and political globalization forces (Astiz, Wiseman, & Baker, 2002; Castells, 1993; Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997).

Cultural Approaches to Youth Civic Development

Cultural approaches to youth civic development often suggest that formal civics-oriented curricula and programs are contextualized by the interests of various ethnic, economic, and gender groups (Bennett & LeCompte, 1990; Carnoy & Levin, 1985; Slomczynski & Shabad, 1997; Theisen & Adams, 1990). Cultural approaches also suggest that education itself is a means by which dominant groups subordinate others meaning that youth civic development in schools may exacerbate socio-political conflict. Carnoy and Levin (1985) argue accordingly that schools as state institutions are sites of conflict between the capitalist workplace and the socialist forces of equality: one vying for control and reproduction of hierarchical relationships, the other vying for expansion of opportunities and weakening of deterministic forces, such as unchecked capitalism. Yet this process occurs within a global schooling framework which promotes the expansion of civic opportunities and rights.

Socio-political systems not integrating civic development with academic curricula do not produce civically 'active' students because they prevent non-dominant group students from gaining the political knowledge necessary to know how to be politically active. Flanagan (1997) asserts that trends toward individualism challenge state authority and weaken civil relationships

and networks. Consequently, differences in education lead to inequality in civic participation (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Therefore, schooling may influence the civic development of youths in various and sometimes unequal ways because it represents and embodies the social, cultural, and political context of each nation. From a cultural perspective, the model of youth civic development may be missing the political knowledge, access, and political rights stages that a conventional model considers necessary to develop youths into civically active and responsible citizens. Figure 2 suggests that in communities contextualized by culture, access to political knowledge and exercise of political rights are not necessarily available to all citizens.

[FIGURE 2]

This approach suggests that formal civics-oriented curricula and programs limit access to and opportunity for youth civic development. Access is one way formal schooling can be used to control the distribution of socio-political resources such as civic knowledge. Cultural context, however, may also be used as a political strategy to encourage assimilation and civic stability through the expansion of formal schooling. In other words, accord o a cultural perspective, school expansion and access may be used as a tool to provide widespread access to state-prescribed civic ideology. As a result, some social and political stability is achieved.

Yet, culturally-sensitive approaches to youth civic development also suggest alternative explanations for the civic socialization of youth that are responsive to the context of formal civics-oriented schooling. In fact, culturally-sensitive perspectives often emphasize the stratifying effects of schooling and the labor market in both Western and non-Western contexts (Carnoy, 1994; England, 1982). These perspectives further suggest that the interaction of

schooling and socio-political context is a source of both cultural conflict and the reproduction of social inequality. Yet, the question remains how these arguments specifically speak to the global institutionalization of mass schooling as marginalization or opportunity and the role of civic education in it.

Issues of civic development and modernization are often founded in "Western paradigms" meaning that civic policy and reform often occur at the national level, while the influences of culture are strongest at the local level (Al Heeti & Brock, 1997, p.374). The mismatch may be one of levels. For instance, the longstanding argument is that individuals in Western cultures attribute schooling success to internal factors, such as educational investment, but shift blame for failures to external factors, whereas individuals from non-Western cultures often do the opposite (Al-Zahrani & Kaplowitz, 1993; Bradley, 1978; Chandler, Shama, Wolf, & Planchard, 1981; Miller & Ross, 1975; Ross & Fletcher, 1985; Takata, 1987; Zuckerman, 1978). These attitudes blend into the socio-political sphere and youth's participation in civic education and opportunities. However, a shift from individual to national and institutional levels of analysis can also be helpful in making these culturally sensitive determinations (Meyer, 1988; Watson, 1999).

The imposition of Western rationales for civics-oriented curricula and programs creates cultural discontinuity and may lead to generational conflicts rather than between-culture conflicts per se (Spindler, 1987). Therefore, even in regions or nations characterized by specifically non-Western cultures, civic education predicated on distinctly Western models of schooling recruits youths into emerging systems that do not reinforce traditional values but instead become agents of modernization and cultural bias characterized by intergenerational conflict rather than cross-national or cross-regional conflict. As an agent of modernization under the influence of the West,

the hegemonic influence of Western culture on schooling and the seeming inevitability of social and political inequality determined either through explicit political socialization of youth or civic education suggests that the global institutionalization of mass schooling is more marginalization than opportunity (Björklund, 1994).

There is, however, discontinuity in the rationale for such school effects. Such discontinuity and even cultural conflict may maintain the dominant cultural ideology and model, but disconnect the content and skills imparted by formal civics-oriented curricula and programs from what is learned outside of schools in non-Western family and community contexts (Spindler, 1987, pp.329-331). Consequently, the process and the product of formal civic education as a part of mass schooling may allow for opportunity rather than strictly marginalization (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Weick, 1976).

Neo-institutional Approaches to Youth Civic Development

Mass schooling is a basic tool in the creation of a citizenry (Fuller & Rubinson, 1992; Ramirez & Ventresca, 1992). Fuller and Rubinson (1992) argue that individuals become linked to an imagined community as much as the state through citizenship, and that mass schooling creates the opportunities and activities which connect individuals to nation-states.

Likewise, the nation-state as a socio-political force leads to the formation and conferral of individual citizenship (Ramirez & Ventresca, 1992). Therefore, the development of a citizenry is not only necessary for international legitimacy, but it is also the link that integrates individuals into the larger socio-political community. Often the goal of civic leaders is to use schooling, particularly mass schooling, as a way to incorporate various and differing groups into national

organizations and economies (Fuller & Rubinson, 1992). Consequently, schooling as an institution of modern society may impart nation-level citizenship, but the process of youth politiccivical development does not necessarily lead to the fulfillment of civic responsibilities.

As citizens make individual decisions, they do so in reference to other citizens' similar experiences, situations, and obligations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Therefore, youth civic development is driven by socio-political institutions such as schools and their contextualized experiences within them. Boli (1992) asserts in an historical analysis of Sweden that nation-level progress and achievement required the political incorporation of even lowly peasants (beyond formulaic indoctrination). Likewise, Cheung and Leung (1998) point out that schooling can legitimate and maintain political power and dominant civic ideologies through the control of school curricula. If this is the case, then civic development of youth is not only an effect of formal civics-oriented schooling and curricula, but it is the most important outcome of schooling.

Figure 3 shows that modern mass schooling, thus, encourages youth civic development (or in some instances vice versa) because it is a project of nation-building, and because it confers, or at least implies, citizenship for individuals. Therefore, the incorporation of individuals as citizens in national communities and political aggregates increases pressures to expand education (Fuller & Rubinson, 1992). As citizens acquire political responsibility they become obligated to perpetuate and encourage access to the citizenry through institutions such as schooling. This is so because individual citizenry becomes the status quo in a system of mass education. Dewey (1940) expressed this idea when he defined education as the totality of processes which society uses to impart power and sustain its growth. Ultimately, then, individual citizenship conferral via mass schooling benefits national-level socio-political institutions because it engenders individuals' support and assimilates them into the collective nation-state.

[FIGURE 3]

From a neo-institutional approach to youth civic development, individual citizenship, granted via modern mass schooling, engenders civic responsibility. This type of civic responsibility, however, does not often include policy-affecting civic participation or involvement. There is no need for the same type of civic responsibility and participation described by conventional and cultural perspectives because the institution sets formal policy more than, or instead of, the individual. In turn, the civic participation that this responsibility engenders, supports, and even demands increases opportunities for and access to modern mass schooling.

Highly institutionalized world ideologies, which rationalize widespread educational expansion, provide standardized models of modern curricular content (Kamens, Meyer, & Benavot, 1996). Schools implement these models of curricular content that affect the civic development of youth at the local level in the United States and similarly decentralized school systems, but most policy or curricular decisions in more centralized countries like France or Japan are made at the national level. Therefore, through the expansion of mass schooling and its resultant expansion or even establishment of citizenship rights, youths are individually incorporated into the body politic at either the local, national, or global levels and afforded at least some political rights and responsibilities.

Therefore, globalization of modern mass schooling involves the incorporation and implementation of cross-nationally recognized legitimization policies. It, consequently, affects

civic education by providing the impetus for this establishment of mass schooling, which is the foundation for further distribution of or training in civic rights and responsibilities.

STRUCTURE, IDEOLOGY, AND MULTILEVEL FRAMEWORKS

When considering youth civic development and the role of education in this development the question arises concerning the essential nature of civic responsibility and development. The multilevel nature of civic responsibility determines how education is responsible for developing civic participation, which when coupled lead to the civic development of youth. Accordingly, the influence of education on youth civic development adjusts to each level of influence. It is possible that a certain amount of impetus may come from lower levels of involvement and lead to crossover so that the levels are not completely distinct. This could mean that civic relationships follow the lead of economic relationships. So if economic relationships are, using McGinn's (1996) argument, vertical relationships of authority and dependency rather than horizontal relationships of reciprocity and cooperation, then civic relationships will also be unequal. Therefore, the civil society (i.e., social contract) within countries that are in vertical economic relationships with other countries should differ considerably from countries in horizontal relationships (Flanagan, 1997; McGinn, 1996). Considering the influence of youth civic development at different levels of analysis, therefore, there are corresponding models of youth political development.

Cross-national data, such as that from the IEA Civic Education Study, can inform these arguments. Given the conventional, cultural, and neo-institutional approaches to youth civic development outlined above, there are models for analysis at the local (i.e., individual and

school), national (within nations), and cross-national (between nations) contextual levels. Table 1 explains the youth civic development process for each model framework at each contextual level.

[TABLE 1]

At the local level, a conventional perspective suggests that individual action and involvement result in communal benefit. Although each individual citizen may become politically involved or active, often without coordinating these efforts with other citizens, the products of an individual's actions benefit the community. Barber and Battistoni (1993) call this enlightened self-interest; however, other authors such as Boyte and Kari (1996) describe similar conventional processes. Accordingly, schooling encourages the individual parts of local communities to work together for the well-being of their respective communities. This model could also be explained using a cultural approach if schooling directs individuals' actions toward benefiting particular segments of a community. The cultural approach, however, is more explicit at broader levels of analysis. An institutional perspective suggests that local level students or school districts align with models of legitimate citizenry or civic education. Consequently, students' political development may not result in improved civic knowledge but not implemented citizenship.

Within nations, an institutional perspective explains that nations encourage the establishment of cross-national institutions and enact scripts through which they legitimate their participation in international communities. However, these institutional scripts may not be closely followed at the implementation level since the needs of a local community or individual may be better served by an adjusted version of a particular script. This departure from the model

script (i.e., decoupling) is an anticipated effect of institutional scripting.[2] Scripts are not necessarily thoroughly abandoned, however, in order to retain legitimacy. In other words, nations adopt institutionalized scripts which legitimate them in the international community. Local implementation may vary from the script (decoupling), but the formal national model within which implementation occurs should remain consistent with the cross-national model.

At the cross-national level, a cultural perspective suggests that communal action and involvement occurs for the good of individuals served by that community. This 'good' that comes from communal action does not necessarily serve the interests of all individuals. In fact, it may only serve the interests of those who control the community's resources (i.e., the dominant socio-political group). Cultural perspectives explain that these benefits result from unequal resource distribution within the community, and may be an attempt to maintain dominance over or engender subordination of individual citizens representing conflicting class interests. There are attendant benefits that apply to all individuals regardless of their relationship to the dominant, resource-controlling group as well. Since national-level institutions actively recruit all individuals as citizens through mass schooling efforts, the benefits are not allocated to the complete exclusion of individuals afforded citizenship. They may, however, be allocated disproportionately in favor of some individuals over others based upon their socio-political affiliation.

EMPIRICAL ANALYSES OF YOUTH CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

There has been much discussion in the wake of the 2001 terrorist attack on the United States that certain Western nations wield hegemonic influence throughout the globe, thereby

maintaining or exacerbating socio-political inequalities both between and within other nations. Because explanations of youth political development that look at schooling as a global institution suggest that the political development of youth are often driven by national development goals for citizenship and productivity, these goals are often accomplished through schooling and the formal education of a nation's youth. Yet, it is often difficult to identify how the schooling process is globally institutionalized and how the contexts of schooling at the local, national, and international levels both complement and contradict one another simultaneously. In fact, there is little empirical research to identify how the transmission of political and civic ideas has occurred through global institutions such as schools. This dilemma suggest several questions that may be empirically investigated using recently collected international data on civic education and civics-oriented programs in 28 nations.

The data is from the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study. In this study, approximately 90,000 14-year-old students in 28 countries were administered civic education and background questionnaires (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Questionnaires also were administered to teachers and school principals. The content domains covered in the survey were identified by national case studies during a first phase in 1996 and 1997, which are democracy; national identity; and social cohesion and diversity. Specifically,

> The survey consisted of five types of items measuring the students' (1) knowledge of democratic principles; (2) skills in interpreting political communication; (3) concepts of democracy and citizenship; (4) attitudes related to trust in institutions, the nation, opportunities for immigrants, and women's political rights; and (5) expected participation in civic-related activities. A final part of the survey

assessed students' perceptions of classroom climate and their participation in youth organizations, as well as other background variables (IEA Civic Education Study, 2003).

This civic education data may be used to answer the several questions based on the above discussion of formal civic education contexts.

Does access to formal civics-oriented curricula and programs vary by nation? Table 2 shows national variation in the availability of formal civics-oriented school curricula and programs. The hours of formal civics instruction per week ranges from 4.29 in Finland to 8.97 in Chile with an international mean of 5.97 and a standard error of .2744. The percent of schools participating in civic education programs or projects ranges from 0 in Portugal to 81.28 in the USA, with an international mean of 24.36 and a standard error of 3.95. While the national averages for formal civics instruction hours per week ranges almost 4 hours difference between the highest and the lowest, there is an 81% difference between nations participating in civic education programs or projects. While this is interesting, most nations' schools spend about 5 or 6 hours per week on formal civic instruction. There is, however, variation in the percent of schools in each participating nation that participates in civic education programs or projects. Thus, while hours of formal civic instruction is relatively similar among nations, the percent of schools that participate in some sort of civic education program or project does vary by nation.

[TABLE 2]

Does the availability of formal civics-oriented curricula and teaching associate with youths' opportunities to participate in civic education programs or projects? Since there is not much variation in the hours of formal civic instruction per week between nations, there is not any significant association with variation in percent of schools participating in civic education programs or projects. There is, however, an indicator of civics-oriented extracurricular organizations (see Table 3). The percent of civics-oriented extracurricular organizations by nation ranges from 36.7 in Bulgaria to 81.7 in Finland, with an international mean of 60.4 and a standard error of 1.97. Therefore there is a difference of 45 percent between the nation with the highest and lowest percent of principals indicating that civics-oriented extracurricular organizations are available in their school or community. Interestingly, this indicator of civics-oriented extracurricular organizations is negatively associated with the average amount of time schools in each nation spend on formal civics instruction ($r=-.544$, $p=.009$). This result suggests that the more formal civics-oriented education, the less opportunity for youths to become involved in civics-oriented extracurricular organizations. This does not mean that the two are mutually exclusive, only that they are negatively associated across nations. It does suggest, however, that where opportunities for youth civic development are part of the formal school curricula or programs, youths may not have many opportunities for active civic participation.

[TABLE 3]

Where opportunities for youth civic development are institutionalized as formal school curricula or programs, are students more civically knowledgeable and active? Nation-level correlation analyses suggest that there is no association between an indicator of civic knowledge

and activity potential (learning the importance of voting in school) and an indicator of school participation in formal civics-oriented curricula and programs (r=.245, p=.219). In Table 4, which shows multilevel regression models predicting the same indicator of civic knowledge and activity potential at the individual student level using indicators of school participation in formal civics-oriented curricula and programs at the school and nation levels, there is no effect of the school and nation level indicators on the individual level civics indicator. The individual students' gender and self-reported involvement in available civics-oriented organizations is significantly associated with the individual level indicator of civic knowledge and activity potential. This suggests that national context may determine or limit the variation in local community contextual influence, but that it does not overtly affect individual youths' civic development.

Some precaution should be taken when considering and discussing national contexts for and schools' roles in developing the civic consciousness and political foundation of youths. Some might assert that without an emphasis on civic behavior in schools, individual- or local-level civic participation and involvement might also wane in deference to large-group socio-political movements requiring little if any individual participation (Niemi & Hepburn, 1995; Sigel, 1995). It is possible, however, that this consequence is a function of the atmosphere of civic consciousness in each nation as much as the youth civic development efforts related to schooling. As a result, it becomes relevant to ask how other socio-political institutions act as influential agents of youth's civic socialization. For instance, families can teach students how to interact with others in interpersonal relationships. Churches and other religious or moral institutions in a student's community may also influence students' values affecting their civic development. A community's economic and political situations influence both the family and the

church. Those in working-class communities may have different values and ideas about interpersonal interaction than those from middle- and upper-middle-class communities. Likewise, those in working-class communities are less likely to be socially well-connected and, therefore, less politically influential than their upper-class counterparts. These differences may also be due to the civic and economic environment in which students live and mature.

Another effect of civics-oriented curricula and programs hinges upon whether youth are passive participants or active agents of change in their own communities and lives. Some students are themselves agents of change and active, as well, in their own civic socialization process (Sigel, 1995). It is just as likely that students are influenced by economic, political, and social factors as they act or react and therefore influence their own civic development. However, personal context may determine the agency of individuals because an individual's thinking is the product of social activity and discourse (Flanagan & Gallay, 1995). In addition, from this perspective personal experiences are key to understanding individual ideas, approaches, and solutions to civic dilemmas. The possibility that the civic socialization effects of formal schooling may change on a student-by-student basis reduces the significance of youth civic development in school as a product of mass schooling or national context because a student's potential for active participation becomes individualized rather than standardized or more broadly contextualized.

CONCLUSION

So, to say that schooling determines the youth political development process to the exclusion of other influences is problematic and overly simplistic; however, analyses of the IEA

Civic Education Study do suggest ways in which schooling provides the opportunities and access students need to be politically developed before educational policymakers recommend new policies for civic education reform and curricular integration. The reason for recommending this policy hesitation is that schooling does not politically develop students as much as it provides opportunity for and access to civic involvement. Consequently, youth civic development is more integrated into educational curricular and extracurricular activities than it is reliant upon one course of study (i.e., civic education).

Youth civic development in a cross-national context, therefore, refers to citizenship and its attendant rights and responsibilities within the international (i.e., global) community. Most youth civic development in schools, however, develops the individual for local or individual action. Communal action at the global level is not yet necessarily a part of whatever formal youth civic development-oriented curricula or programs might exist, but as Held (1996) argues, issues of governance are not necessarily bounded by nation-state sovereignty. Regional and cross-national alliances and relationships continue to weaken traditionally nationally-controlled policies and institutions. If this is true, then the civic development of youth should eventually shift its focus toward global democracy and participation. Through further careful and rigorous secondary analyses, the IEA's Civic Education Study may reveal clues as to whether this shift in institutional control and legitimacy is empirically validated.

NOTES

[1] McGinn (1996, pp.343-344) defines *civic engagement* as active participation in the discussion and resolution of public issues; *active participation* as overt involvement in associations of all kinds that permit learning how to disagree without mutual destruction; *political equality* as meaning that the same rules apply to all members linked by horizontal relationships of reciprocity and cooperation; and *tolerance* as the willingness to disagree without having to silence other views.

[2] Meyer and Rowan (1977) explain decoupling as a contradiction between (a) structures and models based on external culture (or 'world' context) and (b) formal policies or actual practice.

FIGURES

Figure 1. A Conventional Model of Youth Civic Development as a Technical Process.

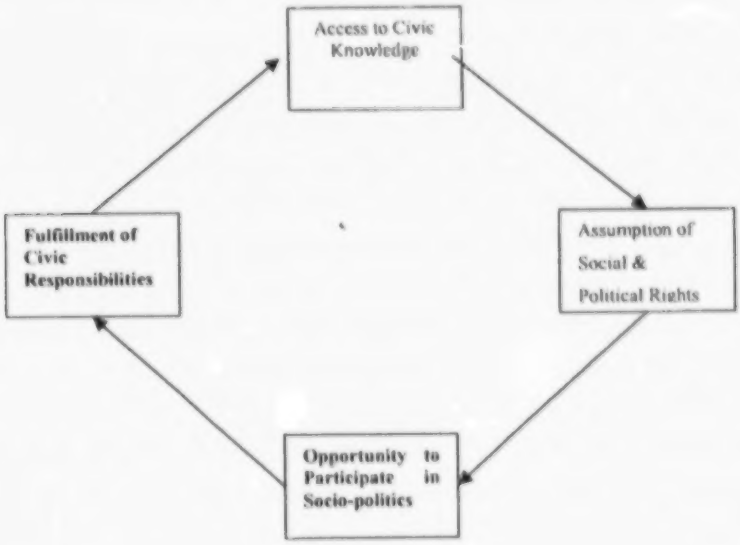
Access to Civic Knowledge
Assumption of Social & Political Rights
Opportunity to Participate in Socio-politics
Fulfillment of Civic Responsibilities

Figure 2. A Cultural Approach to the Conventional Model of Youth Civic Development.

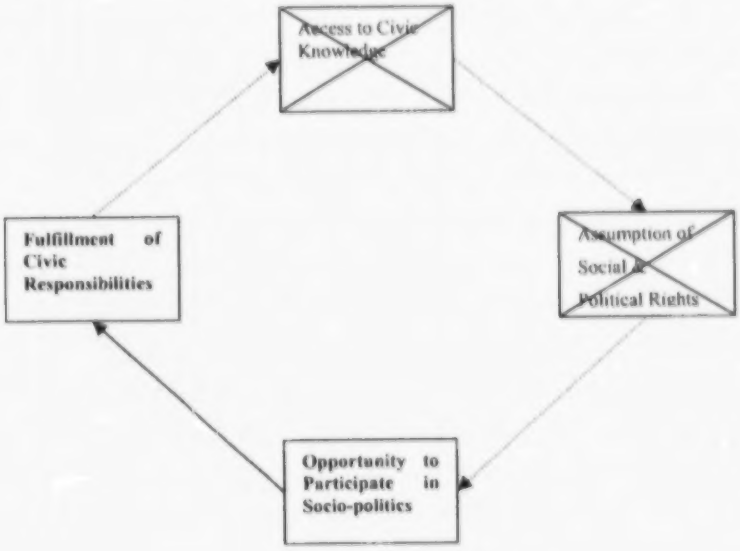
Access to Civic Knowledge
Assumption of Social & Political Rights
Opportunity to Participate in Socio-politics
Fulfillment of Civic Responsibilities

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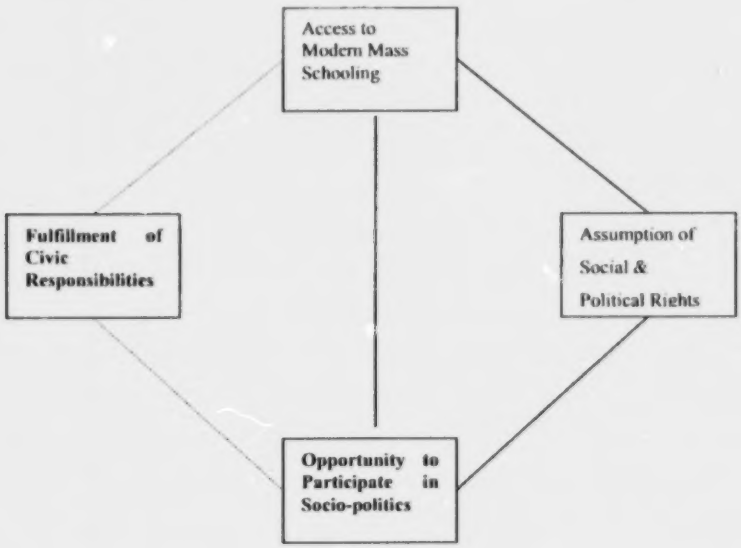
Figure 3. A Neo-institutional Approach to Youth Civic Development.


Access to Modern Mass Schooling
Fulfillment of Civic Responsibilities
Assumption of Social & Political Rights
Opportunity to Participate in Socio-politics

TABLES

Table 1. Multilevel Contextual Frameworks for Youth Civic Development and Schooling.

Multilevel Contexts	Approaches to Youth Civic Development		
	Conventional	Cultural	Institutional
Local Context	Formal civics-oriented curricula & programs impart civic knowledge, rights, and opportunities which students use to fulfill their political responsibilities as citizens.	Formal civics-oriented curricula & programs selectively provide access to civic knowledge and rights even though non-dominant group members may participate in socio-political systems that they do not fully belong in.	Formal civics-oriented curricula & programs impose models of legitimate civic behavior, which individuals adopt to the degree necessary to ensure their continued legitimacy as citizens.
National Context (Within Nation)	As formal civics-oriented curricula & programs impart civic knowledge, rights, and opportunities, nations reap the rewards of civic solidarity and participation, therefore, nations determine or require youth civic development.	Formal civics-oriented curricula & programs reproduce or create inequality within nations regarding rights and access while co-opting participation from subordinate sections of society.	National education systems provide formal civics-oriented curricula & programs to the degree necessary to ensure their legitimacy as modern nation-states according to an international standard.
Cross-national Context (Between Nations)	Formal civics-oriented curricula & programs spread civic awareness and opportunities which lead to improved and shared cross-national civic awareness and responsibility.	Formal civics-oriented curricula & programs are a predictor of civic equality or levels of civic participation between nations.	Formal civics-oriented curricula & programs become increasingly standardized across national systems without necessarily standardizing the level of civic participation among individuals.

Table 2. Access to Civic Knowledge: National Availability of Formal Civics-Oriented School Curricula and Programs.

	Hours of Formal Civic Instruction per Week		Schools Participating in Civic Education Programs or Projects (%)	
Country	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Australia	5.66	1.41	40.86	0.49
Belgium (French)	4.54	0.70	55.01	0.50
Bulgaria	7.82	0.89	10.13	0.30
Chile	8.97	0.38	20.47	0.40
Colombia	6.82	1.28	49.39	0.50
Cyprus	4.31	0.85	5.56	0.23
Czech Republic	5.79	0.41	20.71	0.41
Denmark	.	.	9.89	0.30
England	.	.	24.59	0.43
Estonia	4.64	0.64	17.17	0.38
Finland	4.29	0.63	24.29	0.43
Germany	5.18	1.09	28.76	0.45
Greece	7.95	0.34	13.97	0.35
Hong Kong	5.74	0.94	33.66	0.47
Hungary	4.79	0.93	5.12	0.22
Italy	5.53	0.64	35.58	0.48
Latvia	5.47	0.87	0.00	0.00
Lithuania	.	.	3.66	0.19
Norway	.	.	40.24	0.49
Poland	5.03	0.24	71.84	0.45
Portugal	.	.	0.00	0.00
Romania	6.68	1.02	13.64	0.34
Russian Federation	6.30	0.75	11.71	0.32
Slovak Republic	7.48	0.53	7.14	0.26
Slovenia	7.01	0.18	11.40	0.32
Sweden	5.08	0.56	35.57	0.48
Switzerland	.	.	10.41	0.31
USA	6.18	2.33	81.28	0.39
International Mean	5.97		24.36	

Table 3. Opportunity to Participate in Socio-Politics: National Availability of Civics-Oriented Extracurricular Organizations in School or Community.

Country	Mean Percent of Schools Reporting Civic-Related Organizations
Australia	67.5
Belgium (French)	48.0
Bulgaria	36.7
Chile	47.9
Colombia	54.2
Cyprus	77.5
Czech Republic	53.8
Denmark	68.1
England	66.2
Estonia	58.5
Finland	81.7
Germany	62.9
Greece	54.7
Hong Kong	65.7
Hungary	55.6
Italy	69.0
Latvia	66.1
Lithuania	66.3
Norway	67.5
Poland	48.3
Portugal	47.5
Romania	48.3
Russian Federation	62.4
Slovak Republic	55.8
Slovenia	58.8
Sweden	74.5
Switzerland	56.7
USA	70.7
International Mean	60.4

Table 4. Multilevel Regression Model of Student, School, and Nation Level Indicators and Civic Knowledge.

DV = Importance of Voting Learned in School	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Fixed Effects			
Student Level			
SES	-3.E-03	-3.E-03	-3.E-03
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Gender	-0.12 *	-0.12 *	-0.12 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Opportunity to participate in civic organizations	0.12 *	0.12 *	0.12 *
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
School Level			
School participates in special civic education programs & projects	-	-4.E-04	-5.E-04
		(0.03)	(0.03)
Civic education time taught	-	0.01	0.01
		(0.01)	(0.01)
Nation Level			
Mean civic organization opportunities in schools	-	-	9.E-04
			(4.E-03)
Random Effects			
Level 2 (r_0)	0.08	0.08	0.08
Level 1 (e)	0.67	0.67	0.67
Level 3 (u_{00})	0.01	0.01	0.01

*p<.001

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